

00198

1961/08/02

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
ASSISTANT SECRETARY

CU-22481

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TO: G - Mr. Johnson

AUG 2 1961

THROUGH: INR/DDC - Mr. Scott

FROM: ARA - Mr. Coerr

SUBJECT: Program of Covert Action Directed at the Castro Regime

I recommend that you concur in the program of covert action directed at the Castro regime as described in the Agency's memorandum of August 1, 1961.

This Bureau has previously commented upon the two Agency papers which have been combined in that of August 1, and feels that the latter takes these comments into consideration. It is hoped that the internal plan of action can be fully implemented as soon as possible in the hope that the Cuban opposition can be revived and encouraged.

One consideration not noted in the memorandum is the wish of ARA to be kept fully informed of the development of the operations and fully consulted at every stage.

It is noted that the two previous papers were approved with comments by Mr. Woodward.

ARA:PFwcllam/jsr - 8/2/61

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W-4414/2

for
S-6

1 August 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Special Group

1. SUBJECT: Program of Covert Action Directed at the Castro Regime

2. OBJECTIVE:

The basic objective of the program is to provide support to a U.S. program to develop opposition to Castro and to help bring about a regime acceptable to the U.S.

3. PROPOSED PLAN:

a. Agency Assets in Cuba: The Agency assets in Cuba which survived the recent severe repressive measures of the Castro regime consist of:

☐ intelligence agents with one radio plus several secret writing systems. (Remainder of previous stay-behind net.)

☐ CIA singleton agents each with a secret writing system.

☐ general purpose^o agents (inactive) with 3 radios.

☐ general purpose^o agents (inactive at present).

☐ trained propaganda agents (could be used as general purpose^o)

b. Agency Assets outside of Cuba: Agency assets outside of Cuba but ready for use consist of:

☐ trained intelligence and counter-intelligence agents.

☐ trained general purpose^o agents.

☐ trained radio operators.

(^o - General purpose agents are agents who in addition to intelligence collection have been trained in paramilitary activities.)

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c. In addition to the foregoing, recent reports from Cuban exiles justify conservative estimates of a guerrilla group of about 100 men active in the Escambray plus approximately 623 members of leading opposition parties presently living normal lives but willing to participate in organizing and militant action. These individuals are distributed in various provinces and are believed to have the following party associations:

MRR (Arturo's old group - left of center)	-----150
MRP (Ray's party - left)	-----150
MDC (Catholic Labor Group)	-----100
DRE (student organization)	----- 75
UR (a mixed group covering a broad political area)	-- 75
30th of November (labor group)	-----50
Rescate (remnants of Tony Varona's Authentic group)	-----25

TOTAL 623

d. The internal Cuban opposition which is presently agreed to attempt to achieve a unification of the main elements (i.e. the parties listed above) has access to caches totalling about 17 tons of arms and equipment previously infiltrated by CIA. In addition, the Agency either owns or has access to several vessels adequate for maritime operations and has continued to maintain a potential for mounting air operations. There is a complete propaganda apparatus, including weekly magazines and newspapers, newsletters, and production and

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placement of radio shows, covering all of Latin America. There is also Radio Swan, covering the Caribbean basin, and contacts with national and international press for exploitation of them. Moreover, CIA is prepared to continue its present contacts with the Cuban Revolutionary Council, other politically-acceptable Cuban groups and any individuals who appear to play a key part in internal opposition activities.

c. Operational Concepts The primary objectives of the present plan are to increase insofar as possible the collection of intelligence on the internal Cuban situation and the attitude of the Cuban people particularly with regard to opposition elements; the identification of political leadership; and the recruitment of additional members of opposition groups together with the organization of these groups into the most effective anti-Castro opposition. There is no intention to undertake for the present any paramilitary activities except insofar as they may contribute to the strengthening of the opposition. In this connection it is believed that some outside manifestation is essential for morale purposes and as an aid to recruitment. This manifestation is considered to be best provided by minor acts of sabotage such as additives in gas tanks, tacks on highways, small nuisance bombings to disrupt public meetings with no intention to injure, and harassment of public officials. Such acts should, of course, be exploited by propaganda.

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No prognosis as to the success of the effort to build up the internal opposition is possible. Conversely, however, a failure to provide support to such an effort, particularly in the light of existing specific requests, would inevitably be interpreted as an affirmative U.S. decision that internal opposition has no place in U.S. planning. Such a conclusion would surely disrupt if not destroy anti-Castro elements. Should the expansion effort fail, support can always be withdrawn. Should it succeed, additional support is in no sense committed but such success would at least provide the U.S. with the opportunity to continue encouragement if it should so choose.

f. FY 1962 Operational Budget (Annex A Attached).

The funds requested in the budget for each activity outlined below of the covert program are necessarily estimates and they do not contain any funds for support of political groups for the administrative support of their organizations nor for continued payments to dependents of Cubans who participated in the April invasion. A general outline of the budgeted activities follows:

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(1) Intelligence: In addition to the targets mentioned above, every effort will be made to improve and expand our collection of operational intelligence on Castro's plans, intentions, and capabilities; our counter-intelligence activities will concentrate on penetrating the Cuban Security Services and preventing detection of our operations by these Services.

(2) Political Action: In the political action field we will endeavor to foster support for U.S. national policies on Cuba throughout Latin America, to combat Castro's subversive efforts in that area, and to assist, where possible, in strengthening a unified opposition to Castro among the Cubans inside and outside Cuba. Particular effort will be made to identify and support, if found, any opposition group with a real potential for overthrowing and replacing Castro's regime.

(3) Propaganda: As already stated, a number of previously created propaganda assets are being supported. Consequently, the budget is fairly high without undertaking anything new. Although these existing assets are considered good, they are being reviewed to determine if any should be terminated. Meanwhile, our propaganda activities will be devoted to destroying the popular image of Castro in Cuba, and combating

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Castro's propaganda efforts, creating a militant opposition to Castro, and developing a climate of support for future action against Castro throughout Latin America.

(4) Paramilitary: Our primary task will be to expand our present personnel and support assets both inside and outside Cuba, for use in working with or through Cuban groups in developing an underground organization or several such which, hopefully, will achieve island-wide coverage. After secure reorganization, this mechanism could be used in exfiltration/infiltration of personnel, supplies and materiel, intelligence collection and propaganda operations as well as in a low-key sabotage and resistance program against Castro designed to harass the regime and to maintain and mobilize the spirit of resistance among the people of Cuba. We propose to develop more elaborate large-scale sabotage activities to be performed after approval by the Special Group. Although the program does not contemplate significant direct encouragement of guerrilla bands during FY 1963, the Agency will maintain equipment to provide modest support, if requested and approved, to these guerrilla elements which might arise, either spontaneously or as an effort on the part of Cuban or Agency assets to survive. We have also budgeted funds to maintain a limited air capability for possible resupply, leaflet and deception operations.

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(5) **Supports** The primary financial need is for salaries, travel, and related expenses for personnel assigned to Cuban operations. In addition, we must provide funds for the maintenance and logistical support of a forward operating base, a maritime base, operational or training sites, and communication facilities and equipment.

4. **RECOMMENDATION:**

It is recommended that approval be granted for the above covert action program against Cuba and that a maximum of \$12,733,132 be authorized for the implementation of this program. Only fifty percent of this total will be withdrawn initially from the Bureau of the Budget, with later withdrawals to be dependent on a review, within six months, of the operational progress made.

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ANNEX A

Detailed Breakdown of Funds Required for FY-1952 for Cuban Operations

Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence Operations

Intelligence Collection

Collection Networks in Cuba

Agent Salaries (20 on board)
Agent Salaries (20 planned)
Courier Operations
Training, Equipment and
Other Expenses

Singleson Legal Travel and Resident Agents

Agent Salaries (64 on board)
Agent Salaries (37 planned)
Principal Agents & Current Salaries
Training, travel & other expenses

Third Country Operations

Agent Salaries (20 planned)
Travel and Expenses

Other Operational Activity

Counter-Intelligence

Penetration Operations
Defection Operations
Other Operational Expenses

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Political Action Operations - Total \$1,000,000

Support for covert contacts with political leaders
in third countries to influence their national
policies against Castro.

Support for covert actions in third countries to bring
about support for a unified anti-Castro organization
and its objectives.

Propaganda Operations - Total \$4,204,000

Regular Publications

[REDACTED] (weekly)
Newspaper (daily)
News Bulletin (weekly)

Other Publication Activities

Leaflet, pamphlet production
Book and article production
Mailing Operations

Radio Swan

Other Radio

Cuban Freedom Committee cover for Swan
and production of programs for broad-
casts from Florida Station

Maintenance and planned use of vessel for
broadcasting off Cuba

Radio Equipment for use inside Cuba

Propagation and distribution of radio tapes
throughout Latin America

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Internal Communication Operations

Information teams have been set up for extensive propaganda and harassment operations

Western Hemisphere and Other Operations

Maintenance of selected exile Cuban groups (students, labor, lawyers) and exposure for anti-Castro propaganda tours by these groups throughout Latin America

Tours of these groups to other areas of world

Operations, including placement of selected motion picture and TV footage, throughout Latin America to create opposition to Castro

Black operations (exposure of arms extensively from Castro for subversive actions, document manipulation) throughout Latin America

Funds for development of new operations or one-time propaganda operations

Cost of personnel involved are included in the estimates for the various activities above.

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Excluded

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Paramilitary Operations - Total \$2,570,000

Recruitment, training, emplacement and support of paramilitary agents

100 Agents @ \$10,000 (including compensation and death benefits, etc.)

Communications equipment, facilities, and special training

Development and maintenance of maritime capabilities

Repair of present craft

Operating costs for one year (includes crews' salaries)

Infiltration-exfiltration operations

Includes infiltration of personnel, supplies, funds, and exfiltration of agents, defectors, and agent prospects

Conduct of sabotage operations

Training and operational materials

Warehousing and other operational support

Technical services and special equipment

Building operations-establishment and operation of training sites

Support of guerrilla activity

Operational control of ten thousand persons or equivalent

Purchase of special devices and equipment

Support of operations as proposed by emerging Cuban groups

Development and maintenance of air capability

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Support Operations

Total \$ 4,235,800

Personnel

Salary (265) and related charges
Travel and related charges
Other charges

Base Establishment and Maintenance

Forward Operating Base
Maritime Base
Training and/or operational references
and sites
Communications Base
Support from other U.S. agencies for
security, utilities, etc.

Logistics Support

Logistical support for base, subbases,
sites, (transportation, security, etc.)

Other

Legal fees, cover expenses, etc.
Communications equipment and maintenance

TOTAL REQUIREMENT

\$12,735,132

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